

PROSPECTUS OF THE Fiftieth Volume of the National Era, Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The National Era is an uncompromising advocate of Slavery and the Slave power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, and to the suppression of the press; a friend of the Freedmen, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Laborers just consideration, recompense, and political weight; and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics, and rejects the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can deliberately violate his own settled conviction of its meaning, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to commit injustice, without immediately protesting.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor, and undeniably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; that the Whig and Democratic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the issues raised by the Slave Interest, are being led in thrall by it, so far from presenting any resistance to its exactions, afford facilities for enforcing them; and that one or both must be broken up, and the true friends of Liberty be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the overthrow of the Slave power. It, therefore, gives its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy has yet been developed—a movement which promises to effect such a union.

The National Era, while occupying a decided position in Politics, has not neglected its Literary and Miscellaneous News Department for the various wants of the Family. Careful abstracts of Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign, are given every week in its columns; during the session of Congress, special attention is devoted to its movements; and it has secured the services of some of the most distinguished literary writers of the country.

The Annual Volume will commence on the 1st of January ensuing. Subscriptions should be sent in at once to
G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.
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WHO WANTS A CHEAP DOCUMENT?
We are from time to time requested to publish certain important documents or items, necessary for reference in the advocacy of our Cause. It has occurred to us that this want might in part be met by the volume of *Notes for the People* issued two years ago. Owing to our absence in Europe, it was deficient in variety and adaptation to general readers, but fortunately it became the repository of a large amount of documentary matter of permanent importance, especially to writers and speakers on the Anti-Slavery Movement.

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47. Parties and Slavery.
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51. An Argument with the New York Tribune on the Old Policy.
52. The Movements of our Home Population—the only article of the kind ever published.
53. Speculations of Southern Politicians concerning the Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1855.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

The August No. of *Facts for the People* is now ready for mailing.

Contents.—Political Facts and Comments—A General Survey. The Slavery Question, in its Precise Relation to American Politics—A Speech by the Hon. George W. Julian.

Our friends who are impressed with the importance of circulating truth among the People cannot find a cheaper or more reliable medium than the *Facts*.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The bitter opposition of the Administration and its organs in this city to the Know Nothing, had led us to expect shouts of applause at the turn which events took in the Ohio Convention. Every one is aware that the Convention was composed of all shades of Anti-Slavery men and Anti-Nebraska men, including Independent Democrats, Seward Whigs, Whigs, and Know Nothings. The latter was the only strongest ingredients of which it was composed, and yet there is not a plank in the platform borrowed from the Know Nothing order. Differing in everything else, the Convention agreed in condemning and opposing the aggressions of Slavery; and, like wise men, they agreed to disagree upon other matters, while uniting in solid phalanx upon the platform of Freedom. Each section of the Convention gave up its distinctive name, and waived the assertion of what was peculiar in its organization, in order to form the great Republican party, with Freedom for its central and controlling idea. But the Know Nothing feeling being left out, did we expect that the Administration organs in this city would have given vent to their feelings in the most extravagant terms of gratulation. But it seems that we were mistaken. They are unwilling to admit that a great party of Freedom has been organized in Washington, and that the word Republican to enter their columns. Like Reynolds, in the fable, they are disinclined to invite a more hungry swarm of enemies, by driving away one which is nearly satiated with blood. "Better," they think, "to suffer the ill we have, than fly to those we know not of." This miserable attempt to ignore the Republican Party will not last long. It has been successful thus far, in this quarter, notwithstanding the splendid victories which have been achieved under its banners within the last twelve months. It is now the leading idea in the free States, around which the friends of Freedom are rallying, from Maine to Kansas; and yet, can it be believed that not one man in ten in Washington has so much as heard of it? Liberal newspapers, such as the *Era* and the *Tribune*, are at a discount in Washington; and the consequence is, that the great mass of the people here have not the faintest notion of the state of things in the free States. They have a confused idea of the growing power and influence of the Abolitionists, but they confound, in their imaginations, the names of Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Seward, Chase, and Sumner, in one undistinguishable mass. The organs of public opinion here have never had the frankness to explain, if they know how, that the first two gentlemen named, while differing widely from each other, differ still more from the latter two, who are names of no consequence in the Anti-Slavery Movement.

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Mr. Garrison and his friends, such as Mr. Wendell Phillips, hold that the Constitution is thoroughly Pro-Slavery—that it is a "covenant with death, and a league with hell," and hence they are disunionists, open and avowed. They show their conscientious devotion to their principles by a consistent refusal to hold office or vote. They voluntarily disfranchise themselves, in obedience to the dictates of duty.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, whose life of elevated piety and philanthropy "has won golden opinions from all sorts of people"—even from the slaveholders—is regarded as the leader of an small party of Abolitionists, whose views of the Constitution are the very antipodes of those of Mr. Garrison. He and his friends, such as Wm. Goodell and Mr. Spooner, maintain that the Constitution is thoroughly Anti-Slavery, and that the application of its principles requires the abolition of Slavery in all the States by the Federal Government.

We believe that we shall do no injustice to either of these parties, by saying that their numbers are extremely small, amounting to only a few thousands in all the country. We believe that, in 1852, Mr. Smith received less than three thousand votes for the Presidency; and the party headed by Mr. Garrison is perhaps not more numerous. Both are highly respectable for the amount of talent, energy, and zeal, they display, and for their disinterested devotion to principle; but we feel assured that their numerical strength, if it could be ascertained, would be less than the one-hundredth part of the voting population of the free States. But the great Anti-Slavery party of the North—for it is in no way the process of crystallization around the Republican banner—has been gradually formed from the chaotic elements of the old disrupted party.

Its leading and distinguishing principle may be briefly stated to be this: That Slavery is a great moral and political evil, based on principles utterly repugnant to the Declaration of Independence and the general spirit of the Constitution; that the Constitution tolerated its existence in the States, from a political necessity, but gave it no word of approbation; that it is a merely local State institution—depends upon the local law for support, and where that is withdrawn, it falls to the ground as a nullity. Hence, can exist in the Territories or in the District of Columbia; that Slavery being against natural right, all classes of the Constitution, which are supposed or claimed to be favorable to it must be construed strictly; if it refer at all to slaves, institutes a contract among the States, but confers no power on Congress to legislate in the matter. Or it may be the opinion of others who have joined the Republican ranks, that Congress possesses a constructive power of legislation relative to fugitives from labor, which must be cautiously exercised, with a sacred reference to those invaluable guarantees of personal rights which secure to every person the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY claims no right to touch the institution of Slavery in the

States. It is eminently the State Rights party. Every leading man in its ranks is fully committed to this platform. Mr. Chase, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Giddings, Mr. Hale, General Wilson, have a thousand times expressed these views; and the distinguished Senator from New York, whom we now feel authorized to claim as of the same party, has been equally explicit in placing himself on the State Rights ground. The effort to ignore the existence of this great party, or to misrepresent its principles, by confounding them with those of Mr. Garrison on the one hand, or of Gerrit Smith on the other, will be short-lived. It will make itself felt. We wish the South to understand the position of this party. We regret to see false or exaggerated notions prevail, which are well calculated to excite and irritate the public mind. It is better that the people of the South should know the simple truth. The people of the North propose to take them no constitutional right—to interfere in none of their domestic institutions; but they mean to enforce the Federal Government from Slavery, and to make it what the Constitution declares its object to be, the conservator of Justice and Liberty.

We believe that the peace of the country would be greatly promoted by the dissemination of correct views through the South, as to the nature and character of the Republican party; but if the demagogues persist in their misrepresentations, and the people persist in shutting their ears to truth, they will wake up, as by a thunder clap, when they have heard the result of the next Presidential election. It is better to learn in time, and prepare for the event. It will set easier on the mind, by making the idea gradually familiar. Whether they intend to submit to an Anti-Slavery President or not, it is best to know exactly what he is to be beforehand. Let the South have light. G.

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"Mr. S. P. Chase was born in 1805, in Cornish New Hampshire. His father died in his infancy; but the limited means of the family did not prevent his getting a classical education. In his fifteenth year he entered a college in Ohio, over which his uncle, Philander Chase, presided. Two years later, he became a member of the junior class in Dartmouth College; and when he graduated, in 1826, in spite of his youth and the fact that he was younger than the rest, he was almost at the head of those who graduated with him. This indicates his great natural talents, for he spent more time in the reading of miscellaneous writings than upon his studies. His classmates remember Mr. Chase as a pleasant companion, a friend of sports, and as a young man of the strictest life, whose high feeling of honor would not allow him to yield to vice which would prove the ruin of others around him; and it became the general opinion among his associates, that he was a man who would be sure to make his mark in the world."

"After he left college, utterly penniless, and relying upon his own exertions, he went to Washington, where he found his time, then only a few thousands in all the country. We believe that, in 1852, Mr. Smith received less than three thousand votes for the Presidency; and the party headed by Mr. Garrison is perhaps not more numerous. Both are highly respectable for the amount of talent, energy, and zeal, they display, and for their disinterested devotion to principle; but we feel assured that their numerical strength, if it could be ascertained, would be less than the one-hundredth part of the voting population of the free States. But the great Anti-Slavery party of the North—for it is in no way the process of crystallization around the Republican banner—has been gradually formed from the chaotic elements of the old disrupted party."

His leading and distinguishing principle may be briefly stated to be this: That Slavery is a great moral and political evil, based on principles utterly repugnant to the Declaration of Independence and the general spirit of the Constitution; that the Constitution tolerated its existence in the States, from a political necessity, but gave it no word of approbation; that it is a merely local State institution—depends upon the local law for support, and where that is withdrawn, it falls to the ground as a nullity. Hence, can exist in the Territories or in the District of Columbia; that Slavery being against natural right, all classes of the Constitution, which are supposed or claimed to be favorable to it must be construed strictly; if it refer at all to slaves, institutes a contract among the States, but confers no power on Congress to legislate in the matter. Or it may be the opinion of others who have joined the Republican ranks, that Congress possesses a constructive power of legislation relative to fugitives from labor, which must be cautiously exercised, with a sacred reference to those invaluable guarantees of personal rights which secure to every person the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY claims no right to touch the institution of Slavery in the

States. It is eminently the State Rights party. Every leading man in its ranks is fully committed to this platform. Mr. Chase, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Giddings, Mr. Hale, General Wilson, have a thousand times expressed these views; and the distinguished Senator from New York, whom we now feel authorized to claim as of the same party, has been equally explicit in placing himself on the State Rights ground. The effort to ignore the existence of this great party, or to misrepresent its principles, by confounding them with those of Mr. Garrison on the one hand, or of Gerrit Smith on the other, will be short-lived. It will make itself felt. We wish the South to understand the position of this party. We regret to see false or exaggerated notions prevail, which are well calculated to excite and irritate the public mind. It is better that the people of the South should know the simple truth. The people of the North propose to take them no constitutional right—to interfere in none of their domestic institutions; but they mean to enforce the Federal Government from Slavery, and to make it what the Constitution declares its object to be, the conservator of Justice and Liberty.

We believe that the peace of the country would be greatly promoted by the dissemination of correct views through the South, as to the nature and character of the Republican party; but if the demagogues persist in their misrepresentations, and the people persist in shutting their ears to truth, they will wake up, as by a thunder clap, when they have heard the result of the next Presidential election. It is better to learn in time, and prepare for the event. It will set easier on the mind, by making the idea gradually familiar. Whether they intend to submit to an Anti-Slavery President or not, it is best to know exactly what he is to be beforehand. Let the South have light. G.

MR. CHASE.
A friend has sent us the following tribute to the character of Mr. Chase, which has been translated from the *Local States Zeitung*, a German paper printed at Dabauke:

"Among the few American statesmen who still retain character and principles, and who have not sunk, like Douglas and other subordinate stars, under the pestiferous air in Washington, but have borne up with irresistible power and firmness the banner of Freedom of Right, in accordance with the principles of Jefferson, against the overwhelming influence of the South, stands forth in particular a man, whose name we would mention with love and esteem. We mean S. P. CHASE, the head of the moderate Anti-Slavery and Free Soil party, and the energetic opponent of the corrupt Douglas and Know Nothing fanatics of Ohio."

"America is rich in cunning, low politicians, but poor, very poor, in statesmen of high principle and consistency, with whom the feeling of honor is not utterly extinguished, and who have retained at least so much deference for the public weal as not to sacrifice downright the interest of the State to their personal ambition. Yes, if we view the entire mass of American great men, so called, we shall hardly be able to say of one in twenty, what Henry Ward Beecher said of Senator Sumner—'He is a man!'"

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